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ABSTRACT

In Tanzania, adult education is seen as going beyond increasing skill levels to raising political consciousness. If it is desired to narrow the gap between the educated and uneducated, the role of University adult education evening classes as an agent of increased social stratification must be examined. Mass radio study groups may be one means of reducing educational inequalities while still affording the educational elite participation opportunities. A study of the radio discussion group participants revealed that more men than women took part, the age group ranged from twelve to 80, and the intended rural audience was reached. (AG)

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# Studies in Adult Education

no 5

# Who participates in University Adult Education?

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# WHO PARTICIPATES IN UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION?

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University of Dar es Salaam
1973

This paper is concerned not only with noting the increased recognition of adult education as a major factor in the development of human resources, but also with the caution that not all adult education programmes are equally relevant. It is argued that the evening class activities of University adult education programmes are involved in the process of increasing social stratification by offering courses of an academic nature to those who are already comparatively well educated. The bulk of the paper then concerns itself with a description of the radio sdudy group campaign as an adult education approach with a brief look at participation patterns in the 1971 campaign, Wakati Wa Furaha (A Time for Rejoicing) operated by the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam.

That adult education has a central role to play in the development of human resources is becoming increasingly obvious. There are many arguments in favor of an expanded emphasis in this area, listed below are some of the most important:

1. Formal schooling is becoming prohibitively expensive.
2. Large proportions of the population have had little or no access to formal schooling.
3. Formal schooling has not proved to be flexible and open to change.
4. The benefits of formal schooling are often lost in the unschooled environment of rural life.
5. Children in schools are not in a position to put new ideas to immediate use.
6. Formal education has produced an ever widening gap between the educated and the uneducated.
7. Even the best formal schooling is inadequate for a lifetime's education.

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1. For more discussion on some of these points see Harbison, F.H. A Human Resource Approach to the Development of African Nations. Washington D.C. American Council on Education, 1971.

In addition to these arguments, Tanzania has recognised adult education as a major instrument of socialist construction. In Tanzania, adult education is seen not only as a way of providing increased levels of skills but as a way of raising the political consciousness of people who have been affected by years of colonial or neo-colonial education and decidedly non-socialist habits in decision-making.

Although the case for adult education as a major instrument for development is a very strong one, it does not mean that <u>any</u> type of education for adults will play a constructive role in development. Adult education covers a large variety of activities and forms, from extension work at village level to on-the job training in a shoe factory or seminars for senior government officials on alternatives in financial planning. It is obvious that not all forms of adult education are equally useful. If one assumes, for example, that decreasing the gap between the educated and the uneducated is desirable both in terms of social equality and in terms of permanent development, then the relationship of adult education courses and social stratification becomes a central concern. It is with this in mind that this paper discusses the role of University adult education evening classes as an agent of increased stratification and the example of a mass radio study group campaign as one means of reducing educational inequalities.

University adult education in most African Universities has grown out of the extra-mural traditions of British Universities. These have been concerned with the provision of courses to adults in the community which generally mirror the academic interests of the resident students and staff.

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In order to see what kinds of people are attracted to evening classes in African Universities, information from three universities has been analysed. The use of these Universities reflects only the availability of data and not a desire to compare or contrast according to some other criteria. The students studied are from the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, the Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana and the Makerere Adult Studies Centre (Centre for Continuing Education).2 A number of factors about these participants have been examined in order to describe them more fully. These include geographical orgin, parent's education, level of educational attainment, level of sibling's educational attainment, occupations and income.

Most of the participants come from sections of the country which are already urbanised or are at least part of what may be called the modernising sector. In Tanzania, for example only 24 per cent of the participants per cent of the participants interviewed were brought up in isolated rural environments. Even those who are migrants to the urban centres where the classes are offered are often products of the boarding schools and mission which have isolated themselves from the surrounding areas. As long as the evening class centres continue to remain in urban settings, the participants will continue to be those who are already benefiting from the better social services and higher wages of the urban areas.

Further investigation shows that these students come from families whose educational achievements have been much higher than that of the population at large. Prewitt pointed out in Uganda that, "extra-mural students tend to come from families that have themselves had

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educational advantages."3 In Ghana, for example, between 27 and 35 per cent of all adult studies students came from homes where the fathers had completed middle school education or higher. In Tanzania, the figures were more modest, as only 20 per cent of the participants came from homes where the fathers had any formal education at all. It should be noted, however, that 92 per cent of these students had brothers or sisters with at least as much education as they themselves had.

Having come from a generally higher educated and more urban environment, participants in the extra-mural studies units have themselves reached a much higher educational level than their compatriots. In Tanzania, 79 per cent of those interviewed had Form I secondary education or higher; this is in a country where less than 4 per cent of the school age population goes beyond Standard 7. The figures for Uganda and Ghana are even higher. Uganda had 91 per cent of the students at junior secondary level or more and Ghana enrolled nearly 100 per cent middle school leavers as a requirement for entrance. It is also interesting to note that many of the participants of the extra-mural classes are using the classes as enexpensive tutors to assist them in passing examinations that are offered overseas by correspondence. For example 60 per cent of the Tanzanian sample were busy preparing for external exams, 90 per cent of the Ghanaian sample and 96 per cent of the Ugandans. Extra-mural studies offer urban students an

2. Adult Learning Research Unit. Adult Education in Ghana: Survey 1968-69, Institute of Adult Education University of Ghana, Lagon, 1970. Prewitt, Kenneth. Uganda Extra-Mural Students and Political Development. Makerere Adult Studies Centre. Occasional Paper E No. 1; Snyder, Margaret C. The Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam: Its Role in the Process of Development in Tanzania. Ph. D. University of Dar es Salaam, 1970.

3. Prewitt op. cit.

advantage which his rural brother does not have with regard to preparation for exams or even keeping up with correspondence studies.

Still another aspect of the evening class students is their occupational background. Where do these students work? In Tanzania, 78 per cent of the students work in offices or classrooms as clerks, teachers and middle to higher level administrators. Makerere extramural students are also generally teachers or clerks while 71 per cent of the Ghanaian students fall into the categories of skilled technical, administrative or lower professional workers. In terms of salaries, these evening class students are already earning relatively high wages. When compared to the respective per capita GNP's one finds Ghanaians earning 2.2. times that figure, Ugandans about 4.4. times the per capita GNP and the Dar es Salaam sample a phenomenal 16 times the per capita GNP. University adult education for these individuals means an opportunity to improve on already middle to high level occupations with much higher than average salaries.

When the cumulative effect of these factors is taken into consideration, a picture emerges of the participant in university adult education as one who comes from a more modern section of the country, perhaps has a father with more education than usual, and most likely has other brothers and sisters with educational levels as high as his own. This individual has already reached a relatively high standard of education. As a result of his education his facility with language is higher than average so that when he is faced with either adult education classes or external examinations he is better prepared for them than most people.

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His middle to high level occupation most likely puts him in a place that also makes it possible for him to further perfect his language skills. He is earning many times the national average and may be studying for an exam which will place him still higher.

The rate at which this individual learned before arriving at evening classes was higher than most; his learning in these classes increased this ability. His education and background when combined with his training provide a multiplier effect which in fact not only increases the gap between him and his non-participating brother, but increases the rate at which he leaves his brother behind.

What does this imply for planners of adult education? Do we leave these people to fend for themselves? Do we abandon programmes which treats only this privileged group? Do we level the population by pulling the top down? Perhaps not, but it does mean that Universities which are involved in this type of education must be aware of what they are doing. It seems clear that this kind of adult education is participating in increased stratification, a creation of elites and the strengthening of incipient class structures.

It becomes increasingly apparent that if University adult education is not interested in continuing to expand the rate of elite formation, that adult education planners and University adult educators must begin to look for programmes which will offer some possibilities of providing education for those who are not now among the favoured few.

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There are a number of alternative forms of adult education that could be investigated, with no loss of "academic dignity". They could increase their participation in training programmes for adult educators in those organizations and ministries which are already involved in worker's and peasant's education. They could involve themselves in the organisation of workshops for the provision of follow-up materials for new literates. They could expand interests in correspondence education, not merely with courses for the exam-takers, but with courses for those who have only finished Std. BII or for secretaries in Ujamaa villages who find the keeping of accounts tedious and confusing. Still another alternative is the radio study group campaign.

The Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, has completed three such radio study group campaigns, once each in 1969, 1970 and 1971. The latest one, Wakati wa Furaha, was based on a theme of celebration of the accomplishments of ten years of Independence. The details discussed here are based on the evaluation that was carried out on this campaign.[4] Before discussing participation patterns, however, a short description of the method is necessary.

The radio study group campaign belongs to the historical educational pattern that contains both the organised listening group and the study circle or study group. There are elements of both of theses educational strategies in practice in the radio study group campaign. As with the forms, this method operates on the assumption that in order for learning to take place, dialogue

4 Hall, Budd L. Wakati wa Furaha: An Evaluation of a Radio Study Group. Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1972.

must occur not only between the roup leader and the members, but among all the members of the group. This method rejects the authoritarian role of the teacher and stresses that the group leader is trained only in stimulating and co-ordinating the study of the members, but is not an authority in the subject matter studied. As well as being pedagogically sound, it is felt that this type of education through dialogue more nearly fits into the t Tanzanian ideology of development. The radio study group campaign is felt to be consistent with the desire to give the people the chance to discuss and express themselves about issues concerning their own futures.

Organised listening groups have been in operation in many countries of years. Ohliger has documented the historical development of groups in over 30 counties.5 Perhaps the best known example of the listening group concept is the Canadian Radio Farm Forum. This project, carried out in the 1950's, was designed to further the development of those rural areas in Canada not reached by more conventional mothods of study. The same techniques were later carried out in India on a large scale and also in Ghana somewhat later. The intention of the method is to take maximum use of the very wide distribution of the radio in rural areas. The spread of radios into the rural areas has taken place at a much faster rate than the general rate of development. The transistor radio is known to nearly everyone in the world. But effective learning is difficult when the communication is one way and the message broadcated disappears into the air. In order to balance this loss

5. Ohliger, John. Listening Groups, Mass Media in Adult Education. Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1967.

of interaction with the speaker, groups of people are organised who will listen to the programmes together and then discuss the material presented. In this way the advantages of the face-to-face learning situation can be combined with the wide distribution of the radio sets. In Tanzania there is an estimated radio audience of about 8 million people.6

The study group or study circle also has a history of widespread use. The most prominent examples of the study circle concept are found in Sweden, but there has bee extensive use of the method in various other places including Tanzania. In practice, a study group is composed of voluntary learners who receive printed study materials from a central organisation on various topics of interests. The group leaders in most cases are trained in organising and conducting the meetings of the group. Usually a study guide will be provided which assists in deciding on the pace of study and suggestions for discussion. This concept has been practised by the Cooperative Education movement in Tanzania for several years.

Wakati Wa Furaha, a radio study group campaign was conceived as a combination of elements from both the listening group and the study group traditions. Radio programmes and organised listening groups operate with addition of trained group leaders, centrally supplied text books and radio programmes with appropriate discussins. The advantages seemed to be obvious. It would be possible to combine both the advantages of the wide radio distribution with the permanence of the printed word.

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6. Mytton, G. "Mass Media and TANU: Information Flow in Tanzania and its relevance to Developments" in Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Provincial Council for The Social Studies in East Africa. Dar es Salaam, 1970.

With the addition of a group leader who was trained in democratic leadership principles, true discussion might take place and the effectiveness of the learning situation would be higher than in the cases of either the listening group or the study circle methods when used in their original forms. Let us now turn to the campaign itself.

Who participated in the radio study group campaign?

The major source of information about the participants in the Wakati Wa Furaha campaign was the attendance register which was designed to include information about the sex, age, education and occupation of the group members. It should be noted that each group contained about 16 people, although the range was very large (from 3 to 230).

Sex of participants

The ratio of men to women varied a great deal from district to district. The overall figures for the campaign were 62 per cent men and 38 per cent women. The figures for a number of district are listed below.

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Table 1

Sex of Participants (per cent)

| District | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Arusha | 43 | 57 |
| Dodoma | 60 | 40 |
| Handeni | 40 | 60 |
| Korogwe | 74 | 26 |
| Kigoma | 73 | 27 |
| Kasulu | 72 | 28 |
| Kisarawe | 84 | 16 |
| Masai | 50 | 50 |
| Mafia | 75 | 25 |
| Morogoro | 47 | 53 |
| Mzizima | 97 | 3 |
| Mbeya | 34 | 3 |
| Mbozi | 79 | 66 |
| Mbulu | 57 | 21 |
| Musoma | 76 | 43 |
| Sumbawanga | 83 | 24 |
| Songea | 43 | 17 |
| Ulanga | 65 | 57<br>35 |
| mean | 62 | 38 |

The proportion of men in this campaign was somewhat of a surprise to most of the organisers as the ratio of women to men in the classes run by Ministry of National Education is roughly 2: 1. There have been several thoughts about why this campaign seemed to appeal to men more than women. One hypothesis is that as the subject of this campaign was political and historical, most women felt that this was not in their field of interest. Politics are often left to the men. Another hypothesis is that because the campaign stressed discussion and dialogue as the method of learning, women are less interested.

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In many areas of the country women are not accustomed to discussing these kinds of subjects with men, so they would be less interested in this kind of learning. Another explanation might be that the large number of women in the national adult education programme is due to the large proportion of literacy classes and homecraft subjects which are easily offered and taught in the community schools. In other words, women have in the past been neglected educationally and are making up for this by learning to read now. Men have had more opportunities to learn to read and write in the past and while not attracted to the literacy classes are attracted to a course which centres on political discussion.

Age

The participants ranged from 12 or 13 years old to over 80 years with the bulk of participants falling very evenly in the range from 16 to 40. The table below indicates the distribution of ages and is extremely interesting insofar as the campaign has appealed to a very broad group of individuals.

Table 2

Age of Participants

| Age | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Under 15 | 2.9 |
| 16 - 20 | 14.3 |
| 21 - 25 | 14.4 |
| 26 - 30 | 16.5 |
| 31 - 35 | 14.1 |
| 36 - 40 | 13.1 |
| 41 - 45 | 8.5 |
| 46 - 50 | 6.2 |
| 51 - 55 | 2.2 |
| 56 - 60 | 2.8 |
| Over 60 | 4.7 |

Education

No educational qualifications were required or implied for participation in the campaign. Literacy was not even required as those in the group who could read would explain the text material to those who could not read for themselves

Table 3

| Highest level of schooling reached | per cent |
|---|---|
| No formal schooling | 16.6 |
| Standard I - IV | 51.8 |
| Standard V - VII | 18.0 |
| Standard VIII - Form II | 11.2 |
| Above Form II | 2.4 |
| T O T A L | 100.0 |

From the the table it can be seen that the majority of the participants (68.4 per cent) have Standard IV or less. The campaign clearly appeals to a less educated sector of the population. In fact, only 13.6 per cent of the participants have more than Standard VII, a figure only slightly above the national figures for the entire population. It is clear that the campaign has not been just another way for the most educated section of the rural population to participate in still more education.

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Occupations

One of the most successful aspects of the Nakati wa Furaha campaign was the fact that it so clearly reached its intended rural audience. The table below shows that nearly 3 out of every 4 participants in the campaign were farmers. Only 9 per cent were teachers, and the remaining 19 per cent is split into more than six other categories.

Table 4

Occupation of participants

| Occupation | Per cent |
|---|---|
| Farmer | 72 |
| Teacher | 9 |
| Artisan (fundi) | 5 |
| Civil servant | 4 |
| Office workers | 4 |
| Business | 2 |
| TANU officials | 1.5 |
| Others | 2 |

In summarizing the pattern of participation in this radio study group campaign, one finds roughly men and women in the ratio of 3:2, a very broad range of ages, mostly those with Standard IV or less and mostly farmers. This is clearly an educational strategy which reaches that portion of the population on whom development depends, the rural masses.

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In contrasting the participation patterns of these two forms of adult education, one finds the participants in the evening classes to be relatively well educated. They work at higher paying jobs as teachers, office workers or civil servants. They are the most likely segment of the population to be already making use of other ways of getting more qualifications. They are the candidates for the external exams and the enrollees in the overseas correspondence courses. Their ages are largely between 20 and 30 years.

Participants in the radio study group campaign are (for the most part) those who have not gone beyond four years of primary school. They range in age from 12 to 80 with a remarkable degree of consistent interest. They are farmers who may live off crops grown themselves while getting some cash from crops sold outside the community. They are people for whom the range of educational possibilities in small. They are not studying for secondary school examinations, but they are concerned with improving their lives and the lives of their children where they are.

Even for those people who are not concerned with the effects of adult education or stratification patterns, the radio study group campaign has some strong arguments. Learning takes place more easily when the learners themselves are involved in the process. The method is also useful raising consciousness about matters which affect the reality of rural life and what control over change is possible.

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Even from a strictly economic point of view the campaign is an important advance. This campaign cost about 4/- per person including the training of the group leaders and all materials.

Summary

The point of this paper has been very briefly to indicate that while adult education is increasingly recognised as a central instrument in the development of human resources, not all forms of adult education are equally beneficial, particularly to those concerned with stratification or class formation. As one alternative for reaching the people who have been outside, alienated from the formal educational system, the radio study group campaign has a compelling advantage. This does not mean that universities should abandon their extra-mural activities, but as universities in Africa play a different role in the field of adult education than do British universities, it is necessary to realistically appraise the effects of their programmes and make some adjustments.

For Tanzania the message is clear. The key to development is the improvement of agriculture which implies the development of better agriculturalists. Further, development means participation by the people in the decisions which affect their lives. It means liberation from colonial or neo-colonial ways of thinking. For adult educators in Tanzania the challenge is to develop methods and strategies which are consistent with this ideology. The university which serves the nation must plan with the entire nation in mind.

7th December, 1972

N.B. No part of the text is missing, there has been a mistake in pagination which may give the impression that pages 13 and 17 have been left out. We apologize.